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ABSTRACT

Findings from a study, which examined the development of leadership skills and roles among the teachers in a professional development school (PDS), indicate the emergence of a nontraditional teacher leadership paradigm at the PDS. In contrast to typical teacher leadership models, in which carefully selected and screened teachers are placed in leadership positions, the teacher leadership paradigm that has emerged is characterized by a form of collective leadership in which teachers develop expertise reflecting individual interests. The Learning/Teaching Collaborative (L/TC) is a PDS, which was initiated in a Brookline (Massachusetts) elementary school in 1987 by two teachers to improve the work of teachers, reform preservice teacher education, and mainstream special needs students more effectively. Four components of the L/TC are team teaching, school-university collaboration, special education inclusion, and alternative professional teaching time (APT). APT allows teachers at least one day per week to assume an alternative role (e.g., curriculum writer, researcher, student teacher supervisor, college teacher). The eight teachers who were interviewed for this study indicated that the PDS nurtured teacher leadership, leadership activities grew naturally out of professional interests and working in teams, teaching practices changed significantly, and professional relationships improved. Teachers experienced the greatest growth and development in the following areas: team teaching and collaboration, preservice teacher education, curriculum development, research, and governance. (Contains 49 references.) (IAH)

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Teacher Leadership In a Professional Development School

Paper prepared for the 1994 AERA Conference in New Orleans

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Teacher Leadership in a Professional Development School

Katherine Boles and Vivian Troen

Introduction

Leadership by teachers is increasingly seen as a key to reforming schools and improving the teaching career (Carnegie, 1986; Little, 1988; Berry and Ginsberg, 1990). A potential vehicle for fostering teacher leadership is the Professional Development School (PDS), a new institution that focuses on improving the education of children, enhancing the professional development of preservice and inservice teachers, and altering the relationship between colleges and schools (Levine, 1992).

Teachers are affected in a number of ways by their experiences in a Professional Development School. In the PDS teachers' roles are expanded and their responsibilities increased. The PDS recognizes the unique perspective of the classroom practitioner and provides a forum for teachers to voice their knowledge of the teaching craft, a knowledge that "often challenges the more formal knowledge base that university professors represent" (Miller and Silvernail, 1994). Furthermore, teachers in a PDS are *expected* to exert influence beyond their classrooms and play important roles in the larger arena of the school, school district, and professional community (Levine, 1992, Darling-Hammond, 1994). This makes the Professional Development School fertile ground for the emergence of teacher leaders.

The purpose of this study is to examine the development of teacher leadership in one PDS, the Learning/Teaching Collaborative in Brookline and Boston, MA. An examination of the new roles and leadership responsibilities assumed by teachers in this PDS will, we believe, be of interest to teachers, administrators and policymakers as they consider the restructuring of schools and the teaching career.

Background

The Learning/Teaching Collaborative (L/TC) is a Professional Development School initiated in 1987 by two classroom teachers, Vivian Troen and Katherine Boles, in our Brookline, Massachusetts public elementary school. Our goals were to improve the work of teachers, reform pre-service education, and mainstream special needs students more effectively into the regular classroom.

Wheelock College joined the enterprise while it was still in the discussion stage and has been a partner ever since. Now in its seventh year, the Collaborative has grown from one team of three classroom teachers and a half-time special education teacher in one school, to nine teams of teachers in six Brookline and Boston public elementary schools working in partnership with two colleges, Wheelock and Simmons. Even in an era of diminishing resources, the Collaborative has grown steadily.

Four components provide the framework for the Collaborative:

1) **Team Teaching**: Teachers, functioning as a team, share curriculum and children. Five hours per month are allocated for team meetings outside the school day. In addition, principals have arranged common planning time for teachers so that teachers, their interns and the college supervisor can meet on a regular basis.

2) **School/University Collaboration**: Graduate student interns from Wheelock College or Simmons College work full-time in the teams during the entire school year. A teacher and college faculty member teach the Wheelock interns' graduate level curriculum seminar together; other teachers present guest lectures on their particular areas of expertise; and a number of classroom teachers teach reading and math methods courses at the two colleges. A Steering Committee composed of college and school faculty representatives and administrators from each of the participating institutions governs the PDS and meets four times per year. Subcommittees meet throughout the year to handle budget, recruitment of interns, the professional development of teachers, parent involvement, and public relations.

3) **Special Education Inclusion**: In a number of the teams special needs children are fully mainstreamed. Special Education teachers are members of the teams; they consult with teachers and give some direct service to children.

4) **Alternative Professional Teaching Time** : Each classroom teacher is provided with a minimum of one day a week (six hours) away from teaching duties to assume an alternative role -- curriculum writer, researcher, or

student-teacher supervisor/college teacher. This "Alternative Professional Time" (APT Time) is facilitated by the full-time presence of teaching interns.

Methodology

This paper grows out of a larger study currently underway at the Learning/Teaching Collaborative. That study, funded through a Spencer Post-Doctoral Fellowship, is examining both the development of the Professional Development School and teachers' involvement in long-term organizational change.

The current paper represents one aspect of that larger study; it examines the effect of the PDS on eight classroom teachers involved in the Collaborative. The seven classroom teachers and one special education teacher have assumed a variety of leadership roles as college faculty members, classroom-based researchers, curriculum writers, leaders in project governance and initiators of new models for delivering special education and bilingual services.

Hour-long interviews were conducted in the Spring of 1993 and in January and February 1994 with the teachers, and with school and college administrators who have a supervisory perspective on the teachers' work.

The interviewees were chosen because they represented a range of grade levels, school sites and areas of expertise. The eight teachers represent four L/TC schools. One of the teachers is a special education teacher; two are fifth grade teachers; one teaches sixth grade; two teach fourth grade; two are third grade teachers. Three have worked in the Collaborative since its inception seven years ago. Three others have been part of the Collaborative for five years and two have worked in L/TC for three years. Five of the interviewees are women; two are men. All are veteran teachers, with at least nine and as many as 25 years' teaching experience. Each has taught at least three years in her/his current school.

Three of the teachers are between 50 and 55 years of age, three are between 40 and 50, one is in her mid thirties, one is in her late 20s. One is a person of color. All the teachers we interviewed were committed to classroom teaching and to the work of the Collaborative; only one explicitly mentioned plans to move to an administrative position in the future. All have taken some form of leadership; in the initiation of the Collaborative, on

their teams, at the college, through APT Time in research or curriculum development, or in a combination of these roles.

Interviews were semi-structured. Questions related to three areas:

- Teachers' experience with leadership in the Collaborative, their previous experience as leaders and their motivation for assuming leadership;

- Teachers' views of the various components of the Collaborative: teaming, APT Time, preservice teacher education;

- Changes in participants' teaching as a result of the Collaborative, changes in their working relationships with colleagues, the school principal and central administration (including both support and conflict).

Providing a Context for Teacher Leadership

The school reform reports of the late 1980s made strong and compelling recommendations for teachers to provide leadership in the nation's schools (Carnegie, 1986; Holmes, 1986). The reports emphasized the importance of creating new roles for teachers that extended teachers' decision-making power into school-wide leadership activities.

The first phase of this literature focused on what *should* happen vis-a-vis teacher leadership. A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (Carnegie, 1986) went so far as so state that "the key" to the successful reform of schools "lies in creating a profession...of well-educated teachers prepared to assume new powers and responsibilities to redesign schools for the future" (p.2). Recognizing that without such teachers "any reforms will be short-lived" (p.2), the report suggested sweeping changes in education policy which would, among other things, "restructure schools to provide a professional environment for teaching..." as well as "restructure the teaching force and introduce a new category of Lead Teacher" (p.3).

Who Will Teach Our Children? (1985), the report of the California Commission on the Teaching Profession, also emphasized the importance of providing leadership roles for teachers, and Devaney's "The Lead Teacher: Ways to Begin" (1987), a paper prepared for the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession

for the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, described the role these newly empowered teachers should play in America's schools. Hypothetical sketches portrayed restructured schools and classrooms where a reorganized school day and a multi-level career path for classroom teachers offered new stimulation and avenues for teachers' professional growth. The reports envisioned less rigidly structured organizations where expert teachers assumed roles that were flexible and extended beyond the boundaries of the individual classroom.

The second phase of the teacher leadership reform literature made the difficult leap from proposal to reality by documenting the experiences of teachers in newly created teacher leader roles. Ann Lieberman (1988) studied seventeen teachers who had left the classroom to assume new leadership roles. Her study indicated that even when school districts identified teacher leaders and gave them defined leadership positions, the work of teacher leadership was extremely difficult. Lieberman described the number of organizational and administrative skills these teacher leaders had to learn, and she stated that they learned "without exception...about the school culture as if it were a new experience for them" (p. 150). They discovered how hard it was to develop trust among teachers and "they were confronted with the egalitarian ethic held by most teachers -- the belief that teachers are all alike" (p. 151).

Patricia Wasley's (1990) study of three teacher leaders supported Lieberman's findings and provided a more in-depth understanding of the dilemmas and demands confronting teacher leaders. The teachers in Wasley's study continued to teach at least part-time as they simultaneously assumed new leadership roles within their schools and in the larger professional arena. Their experiences, too, were filled with paradoxes and difficulties. One "teacher leader" held a position in which she performed work delegated to her by the principal; in the second case, the teacher was a leader outside his school, but subject to the hierarchical decision-making chain in his own building; the third teacher restructured her work, created a demonstration classroom, established a partnership with a college, but was warned to be quiet about the work she did, to "play down the project with the rest of the staff" so as "...to reduce what the assistant principal called the 'star syndrome'" (p. 104).

Other leadership roles have begun to emerge for teachers through School-Based Management, where teachers work on site-based councils in collaboration with school administration and community members, playing a

critical role in decision-making in the larger arena of the school (Johnson and Boles, 1994). These efforts have resulted largely from union negotiation with school districts; the emerging phenomenon of "professional unionism" (Kerchner and Caufman, 1993) offers the promise of changing labor-management relationships and validating new leadership roles for classroom teachers.

In many cases teacher leadership roles are designed by central office school administration (Cooper, 1988) or negotiated through teacher contracts as a separate function from the job of teacher. Such roles, designed to increase teachers' commitment to their work through increased professional stimulation, are frequently attached to career-ladder plans (Firestone and Pennell, 1993).

Despite the fact that over the last eight years repeated attempts have been made to create teacher leadership positions in schools, the number of viable positions remains few; in many cases, teachers and administrators have actively resisted the creation and implementation of these new roles (Wasley, 1990; Koppich, 1993).

Why has it been so difficult to create and sustain leadership roles for teachers?

The nature of teachers

Concerned with teaching and most interested in life in the classroom, teachers have been reluctant to think of themselves as leaders outside the classroom (McLaughlin and Yee, 1988). They often view with discomfort the idea of assuming quasi-administrative or expanded teaching functions. In addition, experience has taught them that teacher leadership and risk-taking are not valued in the schools in which they work. As Roland Barth so aptly stated, "A teacher is like a mushroom. It thrives in the darkness, but when it sticks its neck out, its head immediately gets cut off" (Barth, 1991).

The structure of schools

Leadership in schools has traditionally been organized with top-down mandates and little input from classroom practitioners (Tyack, 1974). The formulation and development of programs and reforms has never been considered the work of teachers: it has been the teacher's job to carry out plans developed by others at higher levels in the school hierarchy (Lortie, 1975).

The hierarchical nature of teaching is based on the nineteenth-century industrial model with the consequent adversarial relationship of administration as management and teachers as labor (Tyack, 1974). In addition, since the mid-nineteenth century, teaching has been accepted as woman's work, or, as Catherine Beecher called it, "woman's true profession" (Hoffman, 1981, p. 36). Woman's traditional role was to follow, not to lead. David Tyack referred to the newly feminized schools of the nineteenth century as "pedagogical harem(s)" where many women taught and a few men directed. (p. 45).

These "programmatic and behavioral regularities" (Sarason, 1971, p.62) continue to this day, and make it seem as inappropriate for a teacher to assume leadership as it would seem for an assembly line worker to suggest how to improve the assembly line. Perhaps we should say as it "*was* for an assembly line worker," for automobiles today are built by teams and auto workers are increasingly involved in restructuring their work.

The egalitarianism ethic

The issue of the equality of all teachers inevitably arises in any discussion of teacher leadership. Teachers in Susan Moore Johnson's study of 115 "very good" teachers remarked that they and their peers often did not take advantage of available opportunities to exert formal influence because of the "norms of equity that discouraged individual teachers from stepping forth and taking the lead, and skepticism about the prospects for success," (Johnson, 1990, p. 200-201). Other researchers have noted that the "equal-status" norm is so strong that, though principals may note the existence of team leaders, teachers may deny that they exist (Cohen, 1981) or doubt their effectiveness (Arikado, 1976). And in their study of the cultures of teaching, Feiman-Nemser and Floden describe a "norm of non-interference" which prevents teachers from using their regular interactions at staff meetings, in lunchrooms, and at the duplicating machine "to discuss their work or to collaborate on shared problems." (Feiman-Nemser and Floden, 1986, p. 509). This disinclination of teachers to discuss educational practice, to follow the lead of their peers, and to recognize the efforts of their peers who take leadership roles must be factored into any discussion of teacher leadership.

To introduce teacher leadership is to introduce status differences based on knowledge, skill, and initiative into a profession that has made no provision for them (Little, 1988). Seeing some teachers do something new and

different, getting attention and respect, intensifies feelings of turf-protection and powerlessness in others. And this brings up what is probably the most important obstacle of all to the institutionalization of teacher leadership.

The issue of power

Often left undiscussed in the dialogue surrounding "shared-decision making," "school-based management," and the "professionalization of teaching" is the issue of power. Decision-making power in schools is carefully allocated. Decisions about classroom policy -- what to teach, how to use time, and how to assess progress -- are made by teachers (Johnson, 1990). Other decisions that affect teachers' work -- scheduling, class placement, assignment of specialists, and the allocation of budget and materials -- are made at higher levels of the school bureaucracy. This norm, in which teachers feel powerless to affect school-wide policy, is widely accepted by teachers and administrators. This view of power as a "zero-sum game," in which a gain in one area requires a loss in another, makes it difficult for teacher leaders to emerge in schools. Where principals fear they will be relegated to becoming operational managers as teachers assume new leadership roles, they actively oppose such changes (Koppich, 1993).

The Professional Development School and Its Relationship to Teacher Leadership

The research we have conducted since the inception of the Learning/ Teaching Collaborative (Boles, 1990, 1991, 1994; Troen and Boles, 1993) has indicated that many teachers are assuming leadership roles through this PDS. The forms of leadership are different from those described in most of the literature, in that the roles were not designed as formal leadership opportunities for teachers. Rather, new roles are emerging from the teachers' work in the Collaborative; it is clear that teachers are assuming a variety of leadership roles without any formal designation as leaders. This finding led us to our current study.

Overview of the Findings

Our interviews with teachers in the Learning/Teaching Collaborative have indicated that this PDS has enabled a new form of professional, collegial leadership to "bubble up" from among the teachers.

• **The PDS nurtured teacher leadership.** Though a number of the teachers had previously assumed leadership roles in their schools and communities, all felt that leadership in the Learning/Teaching Collaborative was different. One teacher stated:

> I think there's a difference because it's a more consistent experience, and it's very grounded in kids and practice and the integration of theory and practice....This is teacher-run and there's more involvement with other teachers -- and the whole idea that I'm part of this team of teachers has really changed my teaching life.

• **The leadership activities were natural outgrowths of professional interests and work in teams.** Though the teachers generally gravitated toward other teachers with similar interests when they assumed their leadership roles, their behavior was entrepreneurial and their activities self-determined.

• **The teachers expressed universal satisfaction with the various components of the Collaborative.** Though a few teachers complained that there were too many meetings related to their work in the Collaborative, and that they felt some stress because the intern's full-time presence meant they were never alone with their children, they emphasized that these were minor problems.

• **Teaching practices changed significantly.** Teachers consistently co-taught, regularly discussed practice, conducted demonstration lessons, and together with their interns and teammates, wrote more curriculum than ever before.

• **Professional relationships improved.** Only two of the teachers (from the same school) reported some stress regarding relationships with other teachers in their schools who were not members of the Collaborative. None of the other teachers reported such problems.

• **The teachers reported collegial relationships with their school principals.** Principals had arranged common planning time and generally supported the concept of the Collaborative.

• **The teachers recognized the fragility of the Collaborative.** Teachers gained increased political awareness and realized that the Collaborative's continuation depended, in part, on factors beyond their control.

Areas of Growth and Leadership Development

Based on our initial findings, and for the purpose of clarity, we are dividing the next part of our paper into five sections, representing the areas of the PDS in which teachers experienced the most profound growth and leadership development. These are:

- Team Teaching and Collaboration
- Preservice Teacher Education
- Curriculum Development
- Research
- Governance

• **Team Teaching and Collaboration**

The team became a forum in which teachers could take risks with their teaching and expand their knowledge base. Every teacher we interviewed had changed her or his instructional practices as a result of the team. Many were now co-teaching particular lessons and subject areas with other team members, special education teachers and interns. Within the team, each of the teachers we interviewed had taken the lead in an area of particular interest. All our interviewees stated that they had learned a great deal from their teammates in the areas of curriculum, classroom management or pedagogy. All, in one way or another, stated that they could not imagine going back to teaching in an isolated classroom.

The teachers relinquished their individual control to the collective control of the group, and though they recognized what they had lost, they also were keenly aware of what they had gained. In talking with other teachers and interns about

their work, they could reflect on their own practice. Teachers implemented a case study approach at team meetings, and teachers who had thought they were the only ones having particular difficulties developed new strategies in collaboration with other team members experiencing similar situations. Teachers spoke of the amount of "ongoing dialogue" they had with each other. One remarked that since joining the Collaborative, she had become a much better teacher "...because of the dialogue, because of sharing ideas, because of feedback from other people, because of chances for exposure to other ways of doing things." The teachers we interviewed spoke repeatedly about the ways that teaming had changed the conditions of teaching, about the new excitement they felt now -- after years of teaching experience.

One of the interviewees, who has worked in the Collaborative since its first year, remarked:

> There's definitely a change in perception. In the beginning of L/TC, there was a lot of controversy and resistance around teaming. Some teachers said, "Well, if I'm a good mentor, why isn't that good enough?" and "I don't want to talk to other teachers, and who has to time to talk to other teachers?" I think that has really changed.

Within the team, it was understood that there would be no differentiation in status. Though each team had a designated "team leader" who was paid a stipend, the leadership role was rotated each year and was never defined as having elevated status. It was a job that essentially included more work: team leaders had more clerical and organizational duties than other members of the team.

Some of the teachers we interviewed commented on the effect of teaming on their ability to change instructional strategies in the classroom. Working with other teachers on the team had challenged them professionally and sharpened their teaching skills. One teacher spoke about the inspiration she received from another team member.

> We sit down every week as a team and talk about children's issues.... He inspired me to go on and work on my Master's. I felt he knew this stuff inside out...He got me to look at kids with a whole new lens. He inspired me as an educator.

Directly related to the teachers' work in teams was an increased sense of responsibility and accountability. The teachers were responsible to each other and

for all the team's children. With this new feeling of responsibility came the new experience of collegial accountability; the teachers remarked that they felt accountable to each other in new ways. As one teacher stated:

> If you are the only person in the class, you organize and run your program as a one-person operation. When you work on a team, you count on the contributions of all the members. It's a real change in the way I plan and how I work. I'm much more accountable to other people now. I used to be able to close the classroom door and do what I wanted.

The experience of the teachers we interviewed reinforces Little's findings (1987) that teachers working in teams exert high levels of "reciprocal influence" (p. 13) on one another. Teaching had become more "public" for the teachers, and perhaps because teaching was no longer a secret, "private act" (Fullan, 1992) teachers began to venture beyond the classroom. As Little describes the phenomenon

> ...A combination of visibility (teaching planned for and done in the presence of others), shared responsibility and widespread interaction heightens the influence of teachers on one another and on the school as a whole (p. 13).

• Preservice Teacher Education

The PDS significantly altered the teachers' role in preservice education and enabled them to assume new leadership roles -- with interns and at the college level. The teachers have more control over the interns' experience in the school than they had ever had with student teachers, and they are beginning to influence the structure of preservice education.

Preservice teacher education provided the linchpin for the Professional Development School, increasing the teachers' authority and influence in a new realm -- the college. The teachers, in collaboration with college faculty, supervised the interns and wrote the interns' evaluations and recommendations. Comparing their current experience with previous experiences with student teachers, the classroom teachers referred to feeling new accountability for the interns. They attributed this feeling to the amount of time the interns spent in the team and to the classroom teachers' increased responsibility for the interns' education. Teachers reported having a greater "stake in what happen[ed]" to their interns; they noted

that the time factor was crucial in their increased interest in the intern's future. As one interviewee commented,

> You are accountable to your intern to provide them quality education so they see what good education is. You are accountable to your intern to present progressive teaching. Not standard, basic, boring, traditional teaching, -- whip out a book and teach. You are accountable to show the standards of what you expect your intern to live up to . You are accountable. You are doing a service to the college and the college is doing a service to you. You are accountable to them. There is a whole lot that is affected by this program if you screw up.

Every teacher in the study mentioned the impetus the interns gave them to reflect on their practice and then to discuss their work with the novice teacher. One teacher stated:

> Being forced to discipline yourself, to express what it is you do and why you do it... informs your teaching and I would argue leads to greater success in teaching.

Another teacher reflected the words of many when she stated:

> When you work with other educators and others who are going to be educators it forces you to answer, "Why did you do that and that and Is there a better way to do it?" Just because you've done it that way before doesn't mean that it doesn't bear changing or honing. So I think I've become a more reflective teacher which I think has made me a more effective teacher.

The teachers' work with preservice interns extends beyond the classroom to the larger arena of the affiliated colleges. Teachers serve as supervisors of interns, teach math and reading courses at the colleges; present guest lectures. One teacher has co-taught the Wheelock interns' curriculum seminar since the Collaborative's inception. Teachers value these leadership experiences and credit L/TC with giving them the opportunity to assume these new roles.

> Expanding my role in teacher training has been a direct result of the Collaborative.... I do think that the Collaborative was instrumental in helping the college recognize that teachers can make a positive contribution in the training of other teachers.

College teaching has caused teachers to reexamine long-established practices. They read widely from the professional literature and speak knowledgeably about the latest ideas in education. One teacher stated:

> When you teach college, you have to read a lot, you have to become reflective. If I preach something, advocate it [in my college course], but I don't do it in the classroom, I feel guilty. When I'm teaching plurals, I realize I've got to connect it to their [the children's] reading and writing. I realize I was preaching a lot of things and not doing them in the classroom.

Those who teach college courses report increasing satisfaction with their roles. Though initially the teachers' new responsibilities took great energy and determined effort, the work has provided satisfaction for these veteran classroom practitioners and caused them to interact in new ways with their teaching colleagues at the school site. As one states:

> Teaching college has raised my level of esteem in my school. You're on a different level in the school. People mention you at faculty meetings. At workshops they mention you. It makes you feel good. One interesting thing from teaching college: I run around to the faculty [getting materials] to teach the course. I bug the librarian. It's touching base in different ways with my faculty -- nagging them, asking them for samples.

- **Curriculum Development**

The teachers we interviewed increasingly have developed new curricula at their grade levels and assumed leadership in district-wide curriculum revision. Teachers have seen the importance of improving their curriculum: the structure of the PDS has meant that time for curriculum development is factored into the school day. Principals have arranged for teachers to have common planning time at least once a week, and paid after-school or weekend meetings for curriculum development are a regular part of each team's work. Added impetus for curriculum development has occurred as new curriculum ideas are introduced to the teams by college supervisors and interns who share theories and knowledge at team meetings and in informal conversations with the mentor teachers.

During the 1992-1993 school year, one group of teachers attempted a curriculum project they called "Research and Development." Developed during six months of collaboration with interns, it was, in one teacher's

words, "very demanding." In its final iteration Research and Development involved mixed groups of the team's third and fourth graders, each of which chose an "R&D" topic and met in three-hour time blocks once a week for eight weeks. Interns and teachers co-taught each unit. The units were: Technology and Machines; Art and Design; The Science of Cooking; The Planets; Boats and Videography; and Creating Your Own Research Project. Each unit resulted in a product or a presentation that was shared with the entire team.

The special education teacher in another team described how her team's focus on special education inclusion in the classroom had helped the school district as it moved toward remediation within the classroom:

> Where Chapter I regs have changed and that is now the model, I'm a model. That's why those Chapter I teachers from other districts come here to observe and in that way I'm a leader. There are many opportunities to do workshops...This is really the trend of the future and so the Title I director will say, "Tell how you do it-- how does that work?" and I help others learn from our mistakes and our successes.

A number of teachers have used their Alternative Professional Time (APT Time) -- the six hours per week away from classroom teaching -- to develop new curricula. One teacher's longstanding interest in science education and her work on a new team science unit on oceans prompted her to take college oceanography courses and, during her APT time, to write an extensive oceanography curriculum for her team of third and fourth graders. She found her own support system and recognized the relationship between the curriculum she was writing and her work in the classroom. Two of the teachers we interviewed (and a number of their teammates) have been involved in math curriculum development during their APT Time through TERC (Technical Education Research Centers, Inc.), a research organization located in Cambridge, MA.

These examples of curriculum changes directly related to the PDS illustrate the power that such a collaborative can have in developing curriculum. Teachers are developing curriculum collaboratively with the resources of the college, the assistance of the intern and their peers, and time during the day to experiment and develop the curriculum. As one teacher stated:

> We are trying to reimagine curriculum and trying to establish a role of reconfiguring the way kids learn. I would say that those are the two main roles as a member of the team.

• **Research**

Teachers in L/TC have assumed leadership in classroom-based action research. Over the course of the Collaborative's history, the use of APT Time to conduct classroom-based research has become increasingly appealing to the teachers. In fact, in recent years it has become a drawing card for new teams that petition to join the Collaborative. One member of each team that joined the Collaborative this year is a member of the town-wide teacher research group, and members of L/TC have written and presented their research findings locally and to regional and national audiences.

One teacher/researcher whom we interviewed noted that research has been a "tremendously beneficial activity," that as a result he has found himself being "much more reflective about my role in the classroom." His research on children's writing choices and their attitudes about writing have led him to a reexamination of his own teaching and an effort to improve his teaching of writing through "listen(ing) carefully to the voices of writers as they participated in the process of writing fiction."

As he stated:

> I'm particularly interested in how kids collaborate in their writing, who brings what to the collaborative process, whether collaboration allows kids to take more or less risks with their writing....And it's changed my philosophy because not only do we [the teacher research group] do classroom-based research, we also do a lot of related reading in the research on linguistics. So I've read a lot of Vygotsky and Baktine. It's been incredibly interesting.

As the teachers assume research roles in conjunction with a support network of other teachers, their investment in research grows. They see the effect on the children they teach. According to one teacher : "You can see the by-products of your research, the halo effect and the kids feel empowered and feel important, so the benefits are there."

The teaming component has been important for the teacher/researchers as well.

> I need personal support for my research. By personal support I mean--in terms of establishing your voice you can use your team members as an audience because they're the audience you want to talk to.

Teachers have become interested in going beyond the role of teacher as "deliverer of knowledge." They want to create knowledge by working on research in their classrooms, across schools and communities. They have come to believe that teachers have a responsibility for systematic research and inquiry directed at the improvement of their practice. As one stated:

> I would say my role as teacher researcher is definitely in the theater of leadership in the sense that I'm committed to developing a voice for the teacher researcher in the context of the larger research world, in making that a viable voice that's different, yet heard in that context. So that is what I'm presenting to teachers -- Here is one way to look at kids, and here's one way to look at the writing process.

The teacher/researchers write about what they do. They are aware that they have a responsibility to share what they know with the community, with other teachers and with policymakers.

> A lot of our efforts in the [teacher research] seminar are geared toward writing what we have researched. We want a voice that can reach not only the research community, but the teaching world. So it's sort of a hybrid voice. It's hard to do. And we've been rejected. We send our writing to journals. We've been rejected by journals. Some of us have been published.

- **Governance**

All the teachers in L/TC have assumed leadership through governance of the Collaborative. Though the organizational structure of the Learning/Teaching Collaborative has changed over its seven-year history, a consistent aspect of L/TC has been that every teacher must play an active role in the Collaborative's governance. Teachers understand that this teacher-initiated, teacher-managed collaborative is dependent on each of them for its continuation, and every teacher serves on one of the Collaborative's five governing committees. This work has taught them administrative skills, as well as the skills of team and consensus-

building. It has introduced them to fund-raising and to the complicated work of managing the Collaborative's budget. In addition, it has introduced them to the politics of school change and given them an awareness of the fragility of this teacher-initiated PDS.

Overseeing the entire Collaborative is the Steering Committee, consisting of a one member from each team as well as college faculty members and representatives of college and school administration. The majority of Steering Committee members are teachers, and the committee has been chaired by a teacher since the PDS was initiated.

The Professional Development subcommittee organizes four full days of training for teachers during the year. The focus of the training is always how to improve the preservice aspect of the Collaborative; a by-product is the teachers' own professional development. During the first four years of the Collaborative, teachers examined the role of the mentor teacher and the supervisor in the PDS, learned mentoring skills, and redesigned the roles of the college supervisor and the mentor teacher. This was followed by a two-year focus on strategies for teaching curriculum development and implementation to the intern. During the current school year the focus is two-pronged: what interns need to know about collaboration with parents and what the role of parents should be in the Collaborative.

All the teachers in the Collaborative had had years of staff development workshops before they joined L/TC, but they agree that the Collaborative workshops are different. The workshops are designed and conducted by the teachers themselves, and they are presented to school and college faculty members. They center around topics that are of particular concern to the teachers at that particular time in the evolution of the Collaborative, and they are integrated into the fabric of the Collaborative. As one teacher stated:

> [The Professional Development Days] provide you with a way to listen to other people's thoughts about lot of things. Not just ways that people might teach a certain math concept, but how they actually think about math, or how they think about curriculum, how they think about behavior and conflict resolution. You don't come away from a meeting with people in the Collaborative and think "oh, I'm going to try that and now it's going to work." You come away more with "that's how someone really thinks about this, and I've never thought about it that way." I think it's deeper than just a hands-on kind of experience.

A member of the Professional Development Committee described his committee work in this way:

> This committee has the finger on the pulse of what many people think are the priorities of what should be the agenda of professional development, what people think should be on the agenda next....So in one sense we lead, but in another sense we follow.

On the Interview and Recruitment Committee teachers interview prospective interns and play a major role in selecting the incoming group of graduate students. Working with school and college faculty and administration, they have developed a process for admitting new teams to the Collaborative.

Finally, a newly-formed Parent Involvement Committee has begun to develop ways in which parents can be more closely involved in the workings of the Collaborative.

Developing a new paradigm for teacher leadership

Our study of the Learning/Teaching Collaborative has caused us to rethink the definition of teacher leadership. Traditional descriptions of teacher leaders portray teachers who have been chosen to assist beginning teachers, fulfill roles in supervision, develop curriculum, or serve in part-time administrative positions. These teacher leaders are carefully screened and selected; they often work alone and frequently find teaching colleagues resistant to their leadership. (Lieberman, Saxl and Miles, 1988; Zimpher, 1988; Smylie, 1992).

The Learning/Teaching Collaborative, with its collective form of leadership assumed by many individuals, looks very different. In this leadership paradigm, teachers develop expertise according to their individual interests. They continue to feel professionally independent, yet they are part of a working team. No teacher has higher professional status within the Collaborative and a range of roles in leadership is available to all the teachers. Thus the role of teacher leader is reconfigured to be inclusive, rather than exclusive, and is available to significantly more teachers. According to Judith Warren Little, such leadership changes "the professional environment of the school" so that leadership becomes "less a matter of individual career

trajectories than...a matter of rigorous professional relations among teachers." (Little, p. 81, 1988).

Research indicates that teachers' interests lie less in moving into a few administratively-designated leadership positions (Yee, 1986) and more in enlarging their professional roles and enhancing the professional aspects of their careers (Little, 1988). This new definition of leadership taps into the embedded norms of teacher equality (Lortie, 1975) and honors the norms of inclusivity, connectedness and collaboration identified with the predominantly female teaching force (Belenkey et al, 1987).

Though this description of leadership is different from the traditional definition of teacher leadership, closer examination of the literature indicates that this new definition is legitimate. Kegan and Lahey, in an article entitled "Adult Leadership and Adult Development" state that

> ...a person whose way of being in the world...amounts to the exercise of authority on behalf of facilitating the development of those around him or her, is the person who is the person who can truly be called a leader.

In the Learning/Teaching Collaborative, members of the Professional Development Committee are recognized by their peers as successful facilitators of staff development for both school and college faculty. Teacher researchers increasingly affect their colleagues' teaching through presentations at team meetings, at national conferences and through publication in journals (Swaim, 1994; Gallas, 1993; The Literacies Institute, 1993). Clearly, each teacher's role as mentor, and the college teaching roles assumed by L/TC teachers facilitate the education of the next generation of schoolteachers.

In The Leadership Challenge: How to Get Extraordinary Things Done in Organizations (1990), Kouzes and Posner's definition of leadership also supports this new leadership paradigm. Their definition can be a tool for better understanding the kind of leadership we discovered when we examined the activities pursued by teachers in the Learning/Teaching Collaborative. Kouzes and Posner define leaders as individuals who challenge the process, as many L/TC teachers have done as they assume new roles through the Collaborative.

Teachers in this PDS provide powerful role models for their interns and colleagues, and support Kouzes and Posner's position that leaders are role-models and planners who model the way. The notion of collaboration and role-modelling which undergirds this PDS is very different from the more traditional culture of schools and the culture of teaching (Sarason, 1971; Feiman-Nemser, 1986). Teachers who consistently co-teach, regularly discuss practice, visit one anothers' classrooms, are risk-takers who challenge the status quo of teaching as an isolated act conducted in the privacy of the individual classroom (Lortie,75; Little, 1990).

Kanter, in Men and Women of the Corporation, discusses leadership in terms of power. She describes power as "the ability to get things done, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (1977, p. 166), and she describes effective leadership as

> ...power outward and upward in the system: the ability to get for the group, for subordinates or followers, a favorable share of the resources, opportunities, and rewards possible through the organization. This has less to do with how leaders relate to followers than with how they relate to other parts of the organization. (p. 166)

The teachers who serve on L/TC's budget committee, those who develop professional development opportunities through the Professional Development Committee, those who conduct research and publish for a wider audience in research journals, the teachers who have assumed roles in research organizations beyond the school because of their connection with L/TC, those who develop college coursework or redefine the role of the college supervisor all have assumed leadership "outward and upward."

Theories of adult development help describe the teachers' growth as leaders. Erikson (1950) indicates that in Middle Adulthood, from age 35/40 to 60/65, individuals enter a generative phase in which the central developmental objectives are: the nurturing of younger colleagues, career advancement and the need for recognition (Erikson, 1950). More recently, Huberman, in his study of "The Professional Life Cycle of Teachers," notes that between years 7 and 18 of a teacher's career, a phase of "experimentation" or "diversification" occurs (Huberman, 1989). According to Huberman, the first six years of teaching constitute the "survival and discovery" and the "stabilization" phase. These are followed by the "experimentation/ activism" phase, in which the "gradual consolidation of an instructional repertoire leads naturally to attempts to increase one's impact" (p. 34).

Most of the teachers in L/TC fit into the stages of mid-career and experimentation described by Erikson and Huberman. It would appear that the Collaborative has provided the framework and a new culture within which the teachers can fulfill the needs attached to these stages. And it has done this without removing talented teachers from the classroom. In the words of one teacher:

> What I see this project doing in terms of leadership is allowing us to be individual contributors. The accepted route of advancement in teaching is to move into administration. What I see this project as doing is opening up this other avenue, where you don't have to leave the classroom. What in fact you don't have to do is assume a traditional leadership role -- you can find the stretching in another way.

The Importance of the PDS in the Development of Teacher Leadership

The *raison d'etre* of the partnership is the improvement of the preservice education of teachers and the enhancement of the teaching career. This focus has always been at the forefront of the work the teachers do. It also provided the vehicle for leadership development. In this section of our paper we summarize the effect of the Professional Development School structure on the development of teacher leaders.

- **Alternative Professional Teaching Time as a facilitating factor -- the allocation of a significant amount of time to be used by the teacher at her/his discretion.**

In all of the school reform reports of the 1980s there were repeated pleas for a reconceptualization of the school day so that teachers would have more time to accomplish their work (Holmes, 1986; Sizer, 1984). Most of the recent reform experiments, however, have been unable to institute such blocks of time.

What is striking in our interviews, more for its absence than its presence, is any discussion about the *lack of time*. L/TC has managed to fulfill the promise of creating more time by providing full-time graduate student interns to work in teachers' classrooms. Not only are there two teachers in the classroom during most of the week, but the teachers have time

during the school week, up to one full day per week, to pursue their own professional development through APT Time.

All the teachers assumed new responsibilities to fill the time. They all spoke about how busy they were, but none complained about their inability to accomplish their work because of a lack of time. Nor did they describe feeling guilty about being away from their children or being unable to accomplish their primary role of classroom teacher, though they had all taken on additional professional roles.

In large part this occurred because the graduate student intern functioned as a team member to replace them in the classroom. Discontinuity was eliminated, and the teachers were confident that the children in their classes were receiving competent, consistent instruction. This confidence was in sharp contrast to the way teachers commonly feel about having a substitute teacher in their classrooms. In the Professional Development School the teachers could comfortably attend meetings during the school day, spend time in the library or work on research projects, knowing that their curriculum was being delivered by the intern, a person who knew their expectations, knew the children, and had the authority to maintain the classroom in a normal manner. What was more, this intern valued and benefited professionally from the time alone with the class -- a time that was used to hone his or her independent teaching skills. ***Time*** was a clear "power tool" (Kanter, 1983, p.159) that gave the teachers freedom and enabled them to move in leadership directions.

- **The collaboration with the college afforded teachers leverage beyond their schools.**

Once the relationship between the school and the college had been established, the teachers acquired leverage outside their classrooms and schools. The college connection enabled teachers to redefine their roles and increase their responsibilities beyond the walls of their classrooms without leaving classroom teaching. The Collaborative provided teachers with increased visibility and expanded their professional influence and self-confidence, enabling them to assume "boundary-blurring roles" (Lampert, 1991) that none had previously experienced.

Teachers' leverage within their individual schools also increased. Since it was understood that the teachers were instituting a specific program --

one which had guidelines and roles -- teachers found it easier to request APT Time and common planning time from their principals. The principals were willing to oblige. The teachers discovered that working in the Collaborative gave them more clout than they had had as individual teachers. As one teacher noted: "When teachers work more closely together and are teaming they speak to the administration with a collaborative voice. They don't speak merely for themselves."

The PDS has established a new sub-culture in the schools that supports risk-taking, values leadership and simultaneously maintains the norms of equality and inclusion among teachers. The PDS enables teachers to circumvent the more traditional school culture that does not reward, and often obstructs, risk-taking and collaboration.

A Caveat About Teacher Leadership and the PDS

Teachers are not the only players in the increasingly complex functioning of L/TC. College and school central office administrators have been intimately involved in the Collaborative's development, and as the Collaborative has expanded, they have supplied progressively more of its operating budget. These administrators all express satisfaction with L/TC and agree that it has affected the teachers and interns in significant ways. They see the project as a serious effort to restructure teachers' work and improve preservice training, and they applaud the fact that the project was teacher-initiated.

Still, the PDS affects a relatively small number of faculty members at each institution. Though an increasing number of schoolteachers are involved in the Collaborative, the number of college faculty involved in the PDS remains extremely limited. In year seven of the Collaborative, only two regular college faculty members are intensely involved in its work, and though the Collaborative is increasingly interesting to those at the school and the college, it continues to have marginal status at both institutions.

Funding for the Collaborative has been precarious for most of its existence. Except for the last three years when a FIRST grant from the federal government has provided a large portion of L/TC's operating budget, funding has been a continuing issue. (The period of the federal grant will end in June, 1994.)

L/TC is only one of many programs within the school and the college and it is weighed against others when it comes to distributing diminishing

resources. It is the teachers who bear much of the burden of promoting it and making sure that it has adequate funding.

On the other hand, the marginal status of the PDS has allowed it to maintain its unique character. Neither institution has made serious demands that the Collaborative function in any particular way. Because relatively few teachers are involved in the PDS, there are ample roles at the college and in the Collaborative for any teachers who wanted to assume them. Were the Collaborative to grow and become institutionalized, the possibility exists that it would become more and more difficult for the teachers to maintain their entrepreneurial freedom to assume any role which appeals to them, and to change roles every few years.

Conclusion

Our study of this Professional Development School has demonstrated the need to extend the definition of teacher leadership and to examine its many alternative forms. All too often we attribute teachers' reluctance to assume leadership to the norm of equality among teachers. This study suggests that it is possible to respect the norm of equality and still develop forms of leadership among teachers.

The teachers involved in L/TC take their work very seriously. They know that they influence the creation of policy and are privy to the details of the organization's functioning. No longer isolated in "egg-crate schools" (Lortie, 1979, p.14), they are demonstrating their strength in ways they would never have imagined just a few years ago. The PDS has broadened their horizons beyond the school and exposed them in new and meaningful ways to the world of theory. They have seen their practice reflected back to them through the interns' eyes. As they assume new leadership roles they have deepened their understanding of policy, curriculum and the value of research to practice. The PDS has provided renewal and stimulation for veteran teachers; it has made teachers accountable to each other for the work they have done together; and it has caused them to engaged, in the words of Lieberman and Miller, in "continuous inquiry into practice" (Levine, p. 106).

The new leadership paradigm, created by the partnership of two institutions -- the college and the school -- and marked by an increase in leadership opportunities for teachers, shows promise of significantly enhancing the development of preservice and inservice teachers and improving the education of children.

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